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## Thorough-bred horse breeding is an expensive undertaking

When thorough-bred horse breeders dream they see crowds of racing fans at the betting windows as can only be seen in Great Britain. Sooner or later disenchantment comes in one of the 270 racing events in this country, 30 of them in Bavaria.

In Bavaria alone 7.5 million Marks changes hands at race meetings in the course of a year's racing. The lion's share of this amount is paid out in winnings. It is estimated that only 1.2 million Marks are kept back to provide for racing facilities and for breeding, just about a sixth of the amount of money involved. This means that of the approximately 1,700 horses that race they earn each on average 4,500 Marks per year.

Maintenance costs for a horse are reckoned to be between 6,000 and 8,000 Marks per annum. Race-horse owners must add to this something like 1,500 Marks for extraordinary costs.

The joy of the sport of kings with its (not likely) chance of winning money and (much more likely) the disadvantages of the costs must be the end in itself that drives the owner to the sport.

Owners have their own ideas about lineage of their animals and they have to study the genealogies of their stallions and mares and go to extraordinary lengths to try and find a formula that produces a race horse of fine fettle. In stud farms experiments are carried out that bring less and less advantage to the foals produced.

In breeding more money, it would seem, is paid out than is earned. Thus the treasury subsidises breeding and upkeep of horses indirectly to the tune of about 2,500 per horse on average, a privilege that no family man enjoys.

The reason for this lies in the Income Tax Law, paragraph 82c that permits a course of action that in most other ways is forbidden. The law states that any owner who owns more than one horse can deduct as much as 5,000 Marks per horse from his income tax returns to account for upkeep of the animal. In most cases the liking for horse racing brings the owner into the red so he can obtain a considerable tax advantage.

Costs for running a stud farm, according to farm owners, have reached a record level, that it now means that anyone who engages in breeding must do so only after a lengthy consideration of the risks involved. It takes about 25 years to produce a new breed and even then success is still in question. To establish a successful stud farm it is essential to have at least two stallions and they cost usually something like 30,000 Marks each. Overheads can come to about 3,000 Marks. Taking into consideration costs for providing accommodation for staff and for paying staff at about 300 to 500 Marks a month it works out that an owner must be prepared to lay out as much as 72,000 Marks a year.

There are, of course, studs that are

expensive (and fees are higher) and some that are less costly. But the experts say that when dealing with horses it can be dear when an owner is trying to cut corners and save expenses.

In Bavaria there are 1,200 thorough-bred stud farms. Each year these farms produce approximately 900 foals but only between 500 and 750 are suitable for turf racing. Of these the pitiful number of three will make a name for themselves in the course of their racing lives. It is no small wonder then that only the rich can indulge themselves in this expensive business.

Only organisations such as the world-famous Cologne firm that produces 4711, or Oetker, or people such as Thyssen or the Cologne banking family of Oppenheim (who own the stud farm Schlenderhan) can afford to have stud farms, whose running costs mount every year and whose disadvantages grow and grow.

The second oldest stud farm in this country, Schlenderhan being the oldest, Waldfried, will in 1969, according to the people who know, lose as much as 70,000 Marks.

But it is also possible to make money out of stud farms and breeding thorough-breds. Many times prices such as 30,000 Marks have been paid for a thorough-bred horse. In auctions prices over the hundred thousand Marks have been bid.

And the vitality of a good stallion can

earn for its owner untold sums of money. But again the experts say that the earnings are just a drop in the ocean since other horses in the stud have to be fed and provided for, eating up what has been earned.

The ideally bred horse is one that is adaptable. Requirements for horses are just riding and racing cannot be met. Riding associations, whose membership has sky-rocketed during the past years, cannot be blamed for this.

In Bavaria, as in the rest of the Federal Republic, the horse has long ago ceased to be an animal used to help Man at his work. The horse's value has declined.

In Germany in 1938 there were 11 million horses in the country, about 322,000 of them in Bavaria. But today there are only 264,000 horses in the country as a whole, with only 37,000 in Bavaria.

Riding as a sport has in the past few years become considerably more popular so that these declining figures have been halted. In addition many farmers have seen how it is possible to make a little extra money on the side, as it were, by hiring out horses for riding.

Foals of thorough-bred parentage cost from 800 to 2,000 Marks or even more as 4,000 Marks. Three-year-olds and "ready for use" animals can cost much as a Volkswagen. Some animals sell for as much as 10,000 or even 15,000 Marks. That price increases according to the stud farm from which the animal was bred. Snobbery here plays a very important role.

A horse that comes from the stables of the famous jumper Winkler is much more costly than a horse that comes from just any stable. In addition the state provides thorough-bred breeders with subsidies.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 10 October 1969)

# The German Tribune

Hamburg, 4 November 1969  
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## Out goes the old, in comes the new!

Süddeutsche Zeitung  
MÜNCHEN NEUESTE NACHRICHTEN

Willy Brandt is Federal Chancellor. The event has occurred which few people would have dared to consider after the second failure of the Social Democrats' candidate for the chancellorship.

Let us not speak with too much emotion about the onset of a new epoch. The end of the "Adenauer era" which has been announced periodically since 1963 has now been written irrevocably in the history book of the Federal Republic.

But a more modest change is in the air in Bonn is more important, that is to say normalisation. Only now can there be talk of Bonn's parliamentary democracy having stood the acid test and proved that it is possible for government leadership to change hands from a CDU chancellor to an SPD chancellor.

The Social Democrats, although the bet may seem strange to many people, have become the Federal Chancellor's party. In democracies which have existed for over 100 years it may seem quite normal for one party to stay in power for over twenty years before the electorate demands a change. In a country which has witnessed the collapse of the Weimar

Republic and the catastrophe of Hitler's Third Reich the situation is different.

In this country where the theory of "changing the guard" had never been put into practice many people without political affiliation feared that our political system and the traditional stand taken by

to a hardening of political fronts well into the future. They said that in our modern welfare state the odds were on the side of the party in power. On the night of the election one political commentator was quick to express his opinion that the polling had proved the theory that of two competing branded articles the bigger seller was likely to remain the bigger seller while the other would continue to take second place.

What he has ignored was the fact that there is a certain difference between politics and soap powders. Proof lies in the existence of a small and oft scorned party, the Free Democrats. For the first

time in the party's history it has managed to overcome the traditional split within the ranks of the liberals.

The party has played a major role in helping Brandt to the Chancellery by following the declared duty of a liberal party and occasioning a "changing of the guard".

In so doing the FDP has - let us hope permanently - freed itself from the image of a "volte face" party, and has even sacrificed several seats in order to perform this duty.

However the fates treat the party in future elections it is not the opportunist changing of alliances of the fifties which will characterise the party in the next decade but the brave unequivocal decision they have made for Heinrichmann (Federal President) and Chancellor Brandt.

Brandt's election to the chancellery has justified Herbert Wehner's strategy of the Grand Coalition. He was running no slight risk. Enough has been written about the structural weaknesses and dangers of the Grand Coalition. In the first two years of this Coalition it looked in fact as though there would be further escalation of Left-wing and Right-wing extremist political activities. After the failure of electoral reform it seemed that there would be a vicious circle of prolonged Grand Coalition and further growth of extremism.

Paradoxically at this juncture cooperation between Brandt and Walter Scheel contributed towards a belated justification of the Grand Coalition and then to its dissolution. Many would say "we hope for ever".

Brandt's and Kiesinger's handshake after the former had been elected chancellor may be taken as a sign that as an opposition party the CDU/CSU will soon overcome its initial uncertainty in the Bundestag.

Kiesinger's auspicious expression "fair opposition" is enough to quieten those who are still filled with idiotic ideas of "deception of the electorate" or "a Left-wing putsch". We will soon see whether the triangle, Kiesinger-Strauss-Barzel, will organise itself in the opposition leadership, and if so how.

The new government leader, Willy



Chancellor Brandt's new Cabinet standing before the Villa Hammer-schmidt in Bonn. In the first row from the left, Gerhard Jahn (Justice), Käthe Strobel (Health), Federal President Gustav Heinemann, Willy Brandt, the Chancellor, Walter Scheel (Foreign Affairs), Georg Leber (Transport); second row from left, Egon Franke (Inner German Relations), Helmut Schmidt (Defence), Lauritz Lauritzen (Housing), Alois Möller (Finance), Ernst Lausink (Scientific Research), Erhard Eppler (Economic Cooperation), Horst Ehmke (Minister without portfolio in the Chancellor's Office), Hans-Dietrich Genscher (Interior Ministry), Walter Ahrndt (Labour) and Josef Ertl (Agriculture). (Photo: AP)

Brandt, plans to be a "domestic reformer". He has promised that the new coalition government will soon "give out signs". People will be able to read from these signs whether Brandt will stick to what he promised the electorate and what Wehner has called a "chapter of renewal".

Hans Schuster

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 22 October 1969)

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## The die is cast - Mark revalued

The die is cast. From 27 October the Mark is worth more in relation to other currencies.

Is the percentage 8.5 or 9.3? For foreigners the Mark will be 9.3 per cent dearer, for people living in the Federal Republic other currencies will be 8.5 per cent cheaper.

The revaluation itself was no surprise since the Mark was allowed to float four weeks ago and the trend showed that the rate of exchange at which a dollar for four Marks was indefensible.

What was surprising was the relatively high increase. This above all provoked varying reactions. Professor Karl Schiller's choice shows that he places high priority on three things, prices on the home market, the consequences for this country's agriculture and stability in the international monetary system. The higher the percentage, the easier it is to put a brake on the price spiral, but it must be added that credit policy must be changed all the sooner so that industries dependent on

exports can find home markets that will take their goods.

The high revaluation may force Holland and Belgium to revalue their currencies, though not by as much as the Federal Republic. Then the compensation for a loss of agricultural income will be made easier - the government has said that on no account would farmers be allowed to suffer.

Finally revaluation helps those countries with a weak currency, Great Britain and France for instance. That is advantageous to the whole monetary system.

Revaluation of the Mark is intended to be the central aspect of a programme of stability. On this will depend whether revaluation guarantees a period of calm on the currency front.

(DIE WELT, 25 October 1969)

DIE WELT

WIRTSCHAFTSZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

## HOME AFFAIRS

## Social Democrats take on the risks of power

The functions of government may now resume in Bonn. That is high time too, as almost forgotten after the last three weeks of high tension and the long paralysis of the governing apparatus caused by the election.

Politically the Chancellor's election means nothing more than that work must be picked up again where it was left off. But for the critical public it raises the trenchant question for the first time of how the new coalition government can master the many problems bequeathed it by the Grand Coalition.

It is already commonplace to say that conditions are not ideal and risks not inconsiderable. Even the formation of the alliance between Social and Free Democrats after the results of the election were known had to be a tightrope walk over the abyss of an extremely small majority in the Bundestag.

In the light of this it is surprising to see the sleep-walker's security with which those responsible in the left-wing coalition strove towards their goal between the night of the elections to the Bundestag and the election to Chancellor without taking a step too many nor a step too few.

Success proved this policy right. Nobody was surprised when Willy Brandt was elected at the first go. It is difficult to make a high enough appraisal of the effects of this on the reputation of the new coalition, its inner unity and the steadfastness of the faithless Free Democrats.

A second or even a third vote on the issue would have become a milestone around the necks of the new coalition, a mishap that it could hardly have recovered from. Under the given circumstances

the result achieved by Willy Brandt could not have been better.

Of course Kurt Georg Kiesinger's oracular "Time will tell how long it lasts" is not only a spiteful remark to be expected of an opposition leader. It is a consideration that must be born in mind.

Prophets in Bonn have already coined a formula for the problem. "Two years or twenty," they say. Either the new coalition will be incapable of bearing its burden — the middle of the legislative period will show whether this is the case or not — or it will prove successful and success will last for no shorter time than it did with the CDU/CSU.

There are also some important arguments that speak against the omen pronounced on the new coalition by the former Federal Chancellor. The primary factor is that both partners in the new government are well aware of what risks they face. The FDP in particular knows that its hands will be empty if it does not persevere. Kiesinger is deceiving himself when he stakes everything on a split within the FDP. The election to Chancellor proved this. Even the three FDP members who are expected to have abstained will not want to see their party's downfall. That means that they could well support their party at other divisions.

There is something to be said for the belief that the Union parties will only get going again when they stop looking for their salvation in a split within the FDP and begin to show the voters that they are a genuine alternative to the SPD. The uncertainty felt by the CDU/CSU concerning such a coalition and policy to opposition promises to be of great help to the SPD/FDP coalition. A good guarantee for the stability of the Brandt-Schoel government is Basic Law. A Chancellor can be

## The Chancellor lives between two fires

an important one: he was the CDU candidate.

It is difficult to estimate how far the glories of the chancellorship will help him to gain this advantage of personal popularity. For the time being Brandt lags behind on the popularity stakes.

The scepticism of the electorate combined with far-reaching ignorance of Basic Law means that many of them do not understand what has happened in Bonn and, what is worse, they tend to show no respect for it.

Although it is unconstitutional it has been suggested many times to voters that they are in fact electing the Chancellor themselves. At least it has been suggested to them that after the election the strongest party would have an automatic claim for this office.

Most people had simply forgotten that for twenty years a chancellor has needed an absolute majority in the Bundestag and not in the populace to be elected. It was also the rule that the Free Democrats have always helped the Christian Democrats' candidate into the chancellorship.

A few, but nevertheless prominent, representatives of the Christian Democrats had until recently nurtured this illusion. They did this by means of expressions such as "illegitimate deception, manipulation, usurpation".

Political statements read like police reports. In the election campaign the Social Democrats and Free Democrats were represented as being unreliable, and

deposed only on the basis of what is called a constructive vote of no confidence. Then the CDU/CSU would need an absolute majority.

Speculation in this field is hopeless politically — it could come about only in times of a government crisis of the first order. Nobody in the Union parties should include such a crisis in his calculation of political tactics as he could find that it is his own party that in the long-term loses after the fresh transference of power. The only realistic way out of the dilemma of such a case would be the resumption of the Grand Coalition with an immediate electoral reform followed by new elections. And who can forecast whether the CDU/CSU would emerge as victor of this terrible game.

Anyone soberly analysing the problems of the new coalition's majority will conclude that the margin is indeed narrow but the foundation is by no means as thin as it seems. The operational difficulties in individual issues will probably be greater. These issues will not be solved unless a majority can be drummed up. It is not the existence of the government that is then threatened but its effectiveness. Time will show how these individual difficulties are mastered. For we have only the vaguest ideas of the reforms planned by Chancellor Brandt.

There will be enough work and enough dramatic clashes. It is already evident that the greatest victor will be parliamentary government which has suffered serious damage in the past. And unless appearances are deceptive the interest shown by citizens for democracy and their comprehension of the rules have once again increased at an extraordinary rate.

Even among those people who did not want things to turn out as they have there are few who grudge the SPD and FDP their great chance. Referring a few days ago to the dashed hopes of many of those politicians who had been candidates for a ministry President Gustav Heinemann said pertinently that democracy was a permanent process of selection. That is true for parties and people.

(STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG, 22 October 1969)

accusations of illegality and even political immorality were aimed at them.

This can no longer be passed off as hard but fair political tactics. It impinges upon the basic idea of democracy.

There has even been a suggestion that there was a call to ignore majority decisions arrived at by constitutional means. This attitude of leading CDU and CSU representatives means that they are running the deadly risk of forgetting Weimar.

It is to be hoped that all this will die down now that Brandt has been elected and formed his new government.

Brandt already has his most difficult hour behind him. He has been elected. His majority may seem paltry. Adenauer's in 1949 was slighter.

The main point is that once elected the Chancellor is in a strong position and cannot be toppled easily.

A political defeat in the Bundestag can be very detrimental to the prestige of a Chancellor but not his position as Chancellor.

A constructive vote of no-confidence is necessary. Apart from the usurping of the old Chancellor, the voting-in of the new one is required.

By all calculations Brandt need have no fear for his position. He would have liked a greater majority, but need not be irritated by CDU taunts about the left-wing "rain-coalition".

The party leader's fear that he may be deserted by members of his party affects the opposition as much as the governing party.

(Kölnner Stadt-Anzeiger, 22 October 1969)

## New government Cabinet the youngest ever

For a long time there has been a German proverb of not being able to turn an old head on young shoulders. But as early as Goethe's *Faust* it was said that youth was always supreme with women and the people.

When this is considered it can be seen why the new Federal government has such sympathy among the population, even in those circles that voted for other parties at the election on 23 September. Willy Brandt is the youngest Chancellor ever to hold power in the Federal Republic. And the team he has gathered about him also has the advantages of youth.

Brandt's Cabinet is also the youngest in the history of the Federal Republic. Only one of the sixteen Cabinet members can draw an old age pension and that 66-year-old Dr Alex Möller, the Minister of Finance. Three of his colleagues are only 42 years old, Horst Ehmke, Gerhard Jahn and Hans-Dietrich Genscher. Only half of the members of the Cabinet are more than fifty.

Since the Social and Free Democrats have taken over the reins of power there has been talk of a break in the history of the Federal Republic, even talk of a new era.

The drastic rejuvenation in the Cabinet seems to be even more significant than the change of parties. A new generation has taken over the responsibility of power.

Most of the new ministers were still their childhood at the time of the Weimar Republic. This means that they will not fall victim to the false sense of fear that manifests itself in many points of Basic Law. Basic Law seems more often desirous of avoiding anything that smacks of Weimar than striking out on its own course.

(Hannoversche Presse, 23 October 1969)

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## PROFILE

## The long, hard way to the top for Willy Brandt

Brandt's life

He is the man who has never had it easy and has never made it easy for himself. But now Willy Brandt has reached the pinnacle.

When Konrad Adenauer seized authority offered him it seemed like a matter of course. The second Federal Chancellor, Ludwig Erhard, was swept to the top on a wave of popularity.

Third in line, Kurt Georg Kiesinger suddenly came to the fore as the saviour of this country and the righter of all wrongs.

But Willy Brandt, Chancellor number four, who has just been elected to the highest governmental position in the Federal Republic has had to fight tooth and nail to achieve this.

The 56-year-old Chancellor can look back on a history of quick successes, amazing leaps forward from the obscurity of the backwoods into the glow of almost worldwide popularity and sympathy, but interspersed with this a series of setbacks, disappointments and moments of intense bitterness and times of resignation as seemingly merciless Fate.

Brandt's career is not carved out of a piece of stone. He has pieced it together, bit by bit, at times others have pieced it together for him, in a form which he did not have chosen.

Only in recent years has a Willy Brandt emerged who is capable of projecting his unique qualities to the greatest effect and who is able to present himself as he is in an unambiguous form.

This character is a mixture of a certain amount of coyness, dryness and harshness, but with a good degree of reliability, conscientiousness and a fair measure of tolerance.

In this country Willy Brandt was for a long time regarded as a figure who provided a contrast to other men, but put over personal characteristics of his own. This is particularly true of the period when he made the long journey from Berlin to Bonn.

Berlin spoiled Brandt. In 1955 he became President of the Berlin parliament and in 1957 he followed Otto Suhr to the position of governing Mayor. A year later he added the post of chairman of the SPD in Berlin.

A series of events made him the most well-known politician from this country in the free world.

First there was his energetic and skilful stand against those citizens of West Berlin who in 1956 wanted to march into the other part of the city in protest against the oppression of Hungary after the Budapest revolution.

Then there was his resolute stand against the Berlin crisis which Nikita Khrushchev stirred up.

Finally there was the extensive World tour which he undertook to bring the message of Berlin to other countries and help them appreciate the battle for existence which the former capital city was fighting.

In 1959 a survey showed that he enjoyed all-round popularity. He found the more sympathy then, than when he was fighting the 1963 election campaign.

The 1961 election battle put him up as a potential chancellor in contrast to Adenauer. The 48-year-old confronted the 85-year-old.

The Social Democrats were planning

an election campaign on the lines of John F. Kennedy's. Their idea was to appeal to those who wanted a new, young, dynamic and progressive generation of politicians.

Brandt's job was to create an aura of trust, modernity, and broad-mindedness befitting a new generation and a young decade.

He was meant to surge to victory with his famous smile.

The reason the party failed then and four years later was not just because of the inertia which typified the Federal Republic of the early sixties, and left it unwilling to experiment, but also because Brandt himself and the whole SPD election machine had been wrongly programmed.

Obviously in the eyes of the people of this country the governing Mayor of Berlin, as Willy Brandt remained throughout this whole period, had made his bid for the higher echelons too soon, too young.

A more solid, more convincing Willy Brandt made his appearance after these setbacks, which were not just political defeats, but also deep personal disappointments.

After the 1965 election Brandt was on the point of giving up. At least he had given up the idea of ever filling the Chancellor's seat or holding a prominent position in Federal Republic politics.

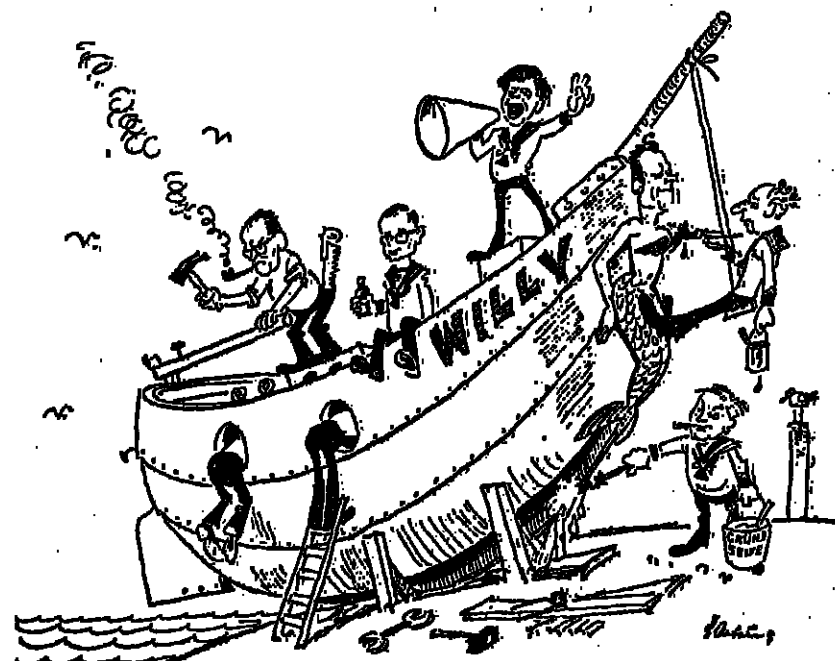
The figure of a triumphant political victor dominating Berlin politics in the past had been replaced by a figure who was to be this country's Nixon figure, a born loser, rather than a Kennedy. (Just how true this was has only become apparent in the past twelve months.)

The rather ponderous characteristics of a North German seemed to come to the fore in this period. Brandt's heavy build, his rather slow, deliberate way of speaking and his tendency to show resignation and to hesitate seemed more obvious than ever.

Tragedy turned to triumph when Willy Brandt was re-elected Chairman of the SPD in 1966. Despite the bleak outlook Brandt was to become vital to his party.

He may no longer have been the conquering hero, prepared to attack any citadel of power. But he was respected for the fine way he represented his party, his confident bearing, his calm and con-

## Launching the good ship Willy!



(Hannoversche Presse, 22 October 1969)  
(Photo: dpa, Cartoon: Hartung/DIE WELT)

sidered judgments, his capacity to make quick and accurate comparative studies of even complicated alternatives and his willingness to cooperate in and organise teamwork.

In this period Brandt established closer personal contact, not only with his party, but also with a section of the general public.

The casual way in which he viewed the political escapades of his two older sons caused much speculation as to whether he could not keep order in his own home.

Many people found themselves sharing his anxiety, and many were in sympathy with him for the tolerant way he treated his rebellious offspring.

Those who knew something of his biography realised immediately that his attitude was born of understanding gained from the trials and tribulations of his own life and was not a product of some kind of apathy or carelessness.

Brandt himself had spent some time in an extreme left-wing splinter group in the early thirties in his native city of Lübeck. He had been an active member of the Young Socialist Workers' Group and later of the Socialist Workers' Party.

Several loose ends were tied up when Brandt became Foreign Minister. He had

always "got on" better abroad than in his own country. Fighting shy of grandiose speech he presented our foreign policy in a extremely rational, moderate and trustworthy manner.

He propagated an image of rationality, never putting a step out of place, never shouting down an argument which did not tally with his ideas, never being guilty of any form of extremism and always being ready to discuss any subject.

try in the eyes of the rest of the world. He flushed out mistrust and with his work on the disarmament front put the Federal Republic on solid ground in this direction for the first time. His fluent French, English, Norwegian and Swedish have stood him in good stead.

His understanding of the troubles involving the younger generation has been immense in the three years he has held his ministerial post. Yet the graph of his popularity has never soared and has always remained below Kiesinger's.

The obvious reason is that he does not foster a personality cult and spend time and energy building up a popular image.

The fact that Brandt's change of nationality in the war years played no part in the last election campaign is a clear indication that there is a cleaner, purer atmosphere to present day politics in the Federal Republic.

This must have delighted Brandt, for nobody has had to suffer quite so much as he from pointed fingers and vague, largely unfounded allegations.

The new Chancellor was a victim of the Nazis, in that he had to flee to safety in Scandinavia. His left-wing activities lost him his German citizenship and he became a Norwegian until 1948. It is an anachronism to reproach him for this still.

Just how good a head of government will be can only be proved when he has taken office. Forecasts are risky.

Just how well Willy Brandt will take the necessary steps in times of crisis only time will tell.

What is certain is that he will never go out on a limb and make decisions on his own, nor will he make generous but ill-advised gestures.

His method of governing will rest on careful consideration of all aspects of any situation, lengthy and fruitful discussion and above all — teamwork.



## THE CABINET

## New government in profile

The old guard in Bonn has been dismissed from office. They now have to leave the stage of political leadership in this country. The new coalition partners, the Social Democrats and the Free Democrats, are about to make their first joint essay into power. Now the long march through many problems is about to begin. It would be foolish to think that overnight problems concerning foreign and economic policy will be solved, but the new government does begin its term in office with a considerable amount of goodwill from many quarters. Chancellor Brandt bases his hopes for success in the next legislative period on Cabinet team work. As well as considerations brought about by the necessities of coalition the Chancellor has emphasised the professional qualities of the men and women in his Cabinet team. This must be so since the new government is faced with some pressing problems. The next two pages include vignettes of the members of this new Cabinet.

## Walter Scheel

Walter Scheel, the new Foreign Minister and Vice-Chancellor, passed a crucial political test this spring when all forecasts were proved wrong and the Free Democrats voted for the SPD candidate, Gustav Heinemann, in the presidential elections despite resistance from the conservative wing of his party. These events in Berlin set the seal on the socialist-liberal alliance. Under Walter Scheel's leadership the SPD has moved up a left of centre position in the Bundestag. The newly-wed FDP leader (his first wife died years ago) is fifty years old. He is an economist as well as a political expert. Until 1953 and his entry into the Bundestag he was executive in industry. He later became an independent economic adviser. But he really feels at home in advertising. He must have been deeply affected by the fact that it was under his leadership that the FDP received such a set-back in the elections. But now that he has joined the government and entered the foreign office the defeat is easier to forget. He has had some preparation for his new post. He was the first Federal Minister of Development Aid. Walter Scheel is from Solingen, this country's cutlery centre. More than any other member of his party he has carried out its electoral slogan and cut through all the red tape.

## Horst Ehmke

Thoroughbred politicians are rare in this country. Horst Ehmke, 42, is one. Even though he is Minister without Portfolio he will play a leading role in the new government. His application, an understanding as sharp as his tongue, know-how and energy make him an almost ideal politician. He has been a master of political practice since being an assistant in the Bundestag in the fifties. But meanwhile he has proved to be an academic - Professor of Constitutional Studies in Freiburg - and a creative politician - he was Justice Minister for six months.

By taking over the direction of the Chancellor's Office Horst Ehmke sees himself in the key political position that he always wanted. His party, colleagues who refused to elect him to the party executive at the last party conference, will now realise that the rise of this natural political talent cannot be stopped.

Many will not react with pleasure to this piece of news. They have heard his merciless sarcasm. The only thing that might stand in Horst Ehmke's way is his incurable tendency to make fun of other people.

## Hans-Dietrich Genscher

The new Federal Minister of the Interior is a lawyer by profession and has made a name for himself in Bonn as a skilful tactician. His political career started when he became scientific adviser for the FDP parliamentary faction in 1956. He soon became a member of the Bundestag and executive manager of the party's parliamentary faction, a position that demands a lot of knowledge and adaptability. He stood the test so well that he became one of the most powerful men in the FDP as deputy party leader. Today the 42-year-old politician is number two in the FDP to party leader Walter Scheel and may well reach the top one day. His greatest moments come when he has to convert politics into tactics. He was one of the first to advocate a left-wing bias in the party but he always saw to it that the party did not stray too far from the centre. The new Minister has one problem - his lack of administrative experience. This lack can be compensated for only by his quick intellect and power of decision, two qualities which Genscher is said not to lack. But he needs something else for his office - good luck.

## Alex Möller

Alex Möller, the head of an insurance concern in Karlsruhe and the SPD's financial expert, is obviously on a winning streak at the moment. On 28 September "Comrade General Director", as he has been called, took the constituency of Heidelberg after two attempts - a matter of prestige - and now he is taking over a ministry. The 66-year-old politician earned his reputation in the Federal state of Baden-Württemberg. An uncrowned king of the provincial assembly in Stuttgart, he led the SPD there for more than ten years until the party leadership took notice of him and summoned him into the Bundestag in 1961. As finance was one of his pet spheres he soon found his way through the jungle of the government's budget and acted as a sort of shadow Minister of Finance. Many of his ideas and the tug-of-war over financial reform have shown him to be still a representative of a rich Federal state. But Finance Minister Möller certainly sees the necessity of a balanced financial structure.

## Karl Schiller

Karl Schiller, 58, is for the SPD what Ludwig Erhard was once for the CDU, the man to win elections. It is thanks to their Economic Affairs Minister that the Social Democrats received the votes of the middle classes. Born in Breslau, he is not so popular within the party as among the population. It is said of him that he tends to speak down to his friends and colleagues in the party like a professor from his lectern. The election campaign showed that he could hold his own in political battles as well as deal in

eloquent formulae. Even when party colleagues began to have second thoughts about revaluation Schiller did not stop explaining the issue to the public at large. The fate of the new government will depend a lot on whether Professor Schiller succeeds in justifying the confidence placed in him by the voters as a sort of magician for the country's trade... The most important stages of his career run as follows. From 1948 to 1953 he was a senator for economics and transport in Hamburg. From 1956 to 1959 he was rector of the University of Hamburg and from 1961 to 1965 Economics Senator in Berlin. Bonn still does not know whether economics fully satisfies his political ambition.

## Helmut Schmidt

The new Minister of Defence is one of the SPD politicians who have the reputation of having the makings of a Chancellor. Born in Hamburg, Helmut Schmidt would have preferred to enter the Cabinet as Foreign Minister or continue as leader of the SPD faction in the Bundestag. But the new government could not do without him, his talent for organisation, his experience and his energy. Few men are as well informed as he is on military problems as well as problems of strategy and security which the government will tackle in the next few years. But Schmidt is an expert not only in the military field.

Years ago he made a name for himself as a transport expert. His first big test was the great flood in Hamburg. As Senator of the Interior he was in charge of rescue operations and the worst dangers were avoided because of his exemplary organisational work.

During the war, Helmut Schmidt, 50, rose to first lieutenant in the reserves. Later he was interned as prisoner of war. When released he studied economics in Hamburg. His eloquence and quickness of repartee earned him the nickname of Schmidt the Mouth but his continued responsibility has destined this designation to oblivion.

## Gerhard Jahn

The new Minister of Justice is one of those Cabinet members from whom the most reform proposals are expected. Gerhard Jahn is 42 and passed his law examination only thirteen years ago. He has been a solicitor but has never risen to a high position in the legal profession. It would be difficult for him to fulfil expectations if it were not for the preliminary work of his successors, Gustav Heinemann (now Federal President) and Horst Ehmke. The Federal Ministry of Justice has always had one of the best squads of civil servants.

Jahn became known as the SPD's Parliamentary State Secretary in the Bundestag where he pressed for the interests of his party with force and often with all the aggression of a born lawyer. This post in the Foreign Office during the Grand Coalition gave him experience in the apparatus of administration. He never felt at home in the Foreign Office as he knew too little about the situation abroad. He must be glad to move into the Ministry of Justice which is his own profession.

Continued on page 5

Continued from page 4

## Georg Leber

The Transport Minister past and present is one of those politicians who speak not only with aptitude but act with their aim in sight. The power of decision has been shown in cabinet meetings of the Grand Coalition when he saw to it in the face of strong opposition that the "Leber Plan" was begun, the Bundesbahn, this country's railway service, transformed into a modern undertaking and the roads and motorways cleared of all congestion.

A brick-layer, Leber's political career began in the union movement where he developed his own ideas. To him socialist experiments were of less importance than the affluence of the workers and the assurance of a secure future by the accumulation of wealth.

With these ideas he made many enemies among doctrinaire unionists but the Building Union made him its chairman in 1957 and never regretted its decision. In 1957 too he became a member of the Bundestag for the first time. Before the Presidential elections the CDU/CSU and SPD thought over the possibility for some time of nominating a joint candidate - they thought of Leber.

## Lauritz Lauritzen

The Ministry of Housing was originally to be one of the victims of cabinet reform. Lauritz Lauritzen, 38, must thank the energetic protests of Social Democratic mayors and

institutions dealing with housing that he will sit at the cabinet table. There was a strong movement to dissolve his Ministry but fortunately Lauritzen has friends from his early days. There was no support forthcoming in Bonn but it did come from other sources. The former Mayor of Kassel and Justice Minister of the Federal state of Hesse is considered to be an experienced local politician.

He will need a lot of good luck to maintain himself in the long run in Chancellor Brandt's cabinet.

House owners and tenants will all have their eyes fixed on him during the next four years. His wide administrative experience - Lauritzen's most powerful weapon - must serve them.

## Hans Leussink

In Professor Hans Leussink, 57, Chancellor Willy Brandt has chosen a Scientific Research Minister who is well acquainted with the main functions of the department. As Professor of Building Construction and Tunnelling at the Technical University of Karlsruhe he has shown himself to be an expert in technology. But as President of the Arts and Science Council he has also had thorough dealings with questions of education.

Leussink does not belong to any of the parties and is an unknown quantity politically. There was strong resistance to his appointment within the ranks of the SPD. The main objection was the fear that Leussink would be a good Science Minister but conservative as far as educational policy went. Student circles also have strong reservations about him.

## Walter Arendt

The new minister of Labour Walter Arendt, for fifteen years head of the trade union for workers in the mining and power industries, is a typical child of the Ruhr. He was born in Heesen near Hamm on 17 January 1925 and while still a boy experienced the severity of working life. While still at school he lost his father, a miner, who died of silicosis, the miners' disease. Walter Arendt too became a miner. In 1942 after his apprenticeship he became a soldier and returned to the mines of the Ruhr in 1945. A year later he decided to do everything possible to improve the social position of the miners, the unions and the SPD. His promotion came quickly and after three years in the Bundestag and the European Parliament he became union leader in 1964.

Arendt's first test was the crisis in the mines. He declined the position of head of the Trades Union Congress as things were happening in the Ruhr and he was needed at the pits. The results of his work are plain to see. Redundant miners were trained for other jobs, miners still have a future in spite of the structural crisis and a united society was formed in the Ruhr mining industry.

## Josef Ertl

The new Minister of Agriculture is a Bavarian like his predecessor Hermann

Erhard. He is not only one of the most colourful and capable figures in the new government but also one of the most controversial. Although he has never been considered as a possible minister when previous governments have been formed, he is well known in Bonn. Josef Ertl, 44, will probably be as conservative in his Ministry as he is in his party. He owes his office to his political position. The FDP had to appease its conservative wing by appointing Ertl and thus give some security to the coalition with the SPD.

But the solution of one problem only leads to another. Even his best friends do not know how a minister without close connections with the Farmers' Association can be the representative of a modern agricultural policy within the framework of the European Economic Community. It seems certain that he will quickly become acquainted with agricultural problems. Josef Ertl has studied agriculture.

## Erhard Eppler

Born in Ulm, Erhard Eppler became Minister of Development Aid when his predecessor Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski left the Cabinet last year to concentrate on his party's election campaign. But his appointment was far from smooth. This young politician who had already been in evidence in some foreign policy debates did not please Chancellor Kiesinger.

Indeed Eppler, 42, takes up a political position always suspected by the CDU. He was a follower of Gustav Heinemann, today's

Federal President, when he was leader of the All-German people's Party founded by him and stood up for neutralist ideas.

A philologist, he is one of the few SPD politicians who deal theoretically with political problems. He worked out his own ideas for development aid and said that it should be given with no political strings. On this point he is in agreement with his future Chancellor.

Many critics have accused him of striving for a Utopia. But he is convinced that the world must either be improved or go to rack and ruin. His thought betrays the influence of a particularly religious consciousness. Erhard Eppler has close ties with the lay movement of the Protestant Church.

## Käte Strobel

Minister of Health in both old and new governments, Käte Strobel is the only woman to have a place in the Cabinet of the SPD and FDP. In the last government she made up for the alleged weaknesses of her sex with her decisiveness.

As Health Minister she published the new handbook on sexual education that provoked heated discussion and led to many attacks being made on her. But she did not let these attacks intimidate her. She is a passionate and ambitious politician even though she always gives her profession as "housewife".

Born in Nuremberg, Käte Strobel has four children. She entered the Bundestag for the first time in 1949. She worked her way up painstakingly and became a member of the SPD's committee and the European Parliament.

Her work in the Health Ministry was directed from the very beginning to protect the consumer in the widest sense. It is not surprising that the official book in modern health policy must be the education of the population in matters of health. This is more important than all laws and regulations, she claims. Nobody in Bonn doubts that her energy will see the realisation of her aims.

## Egon Franke

SPD back-benchers have now a seat and a voice in the cabinet. Willy Brandt could not let them go empty-handed when he was distributing ministerial positions. His choice fell on the politician with the most service on the back benches, Egon Franke of Hanover.

A carpenter, the 56-year-old Minister for Inner German Relations is everything but a hothead. His dogged persistence is shown by his service in the Bundestag since 1951 and his years as leader of the SPD state committee in Lower Saxony. Many people cannot imagine the SPD in Lower Saxony without him.

Because of instigation to high treason Egon Franke went to prison in 1935 and later did the most menial work in the notorious Punishment Unit 999. He was wounded, imprisoned and then became an alderman. He became a member of the state parliament, before moving on to the Bundestag. He succeeded Herbert Wehner as chairman of the Bundestag committee for all-German affairs and has now succeeded Wehner once again to reach the highpoint of his career. His new post means that Franke, a man who prefers to work behind the scenes, will now have to deal more in and with the public.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 22 October 1969)

(Photos: dpa 6, Archiv 3, IP 2, Archiv/Jupp Darchinger 2, Archiv/Bundesbildstelle, Archiv/Sven Simon)



## THE CHANCELLORSHIP

## Brandt, 'a son of the people' takes office



The night after the elections to Chancellor Willy Brandt's official residence on the Venusberg was an open house. The next morning at 10.30 the Federal Chancellor sat together with his ministers in Palais Schaumburg for the first time.

When asked to reveal what feelings a past emigré has when he becomes ruler of his country Willy Brandt said, "Hitler has lost for once and for all."

But the Federal Chancellor did not spend time looking back into the past on the night of his victory celebrations. After six weeks campaigning and three weeks spent forming a government he felt an urge to work again.

Brandt sees in his government's programme a healthy mixture of continuity and further development. Leaning on the wall of the house on the Venusberg once built for Kurt Schumacher Herbert Wehner saw the possible results as no more than mere visions. "We are no more than the appendix of the book of over a hundred years of the Social Democrats," he said. "Perhaps that will soon be a chapter."

Written in gold letters on the black, red and gold ribbon around a basket of roses in Brandt's house was "He will remain a son of the people." People bouquet and as the night wore on the Chancellor was not the only one who went around in day-dreams with a long-stemmed rose.

But there was little space for day-dreams. Not only new ministers and old comrades crowded into the three hundred or so square yards used by all foreign ministers for ceremonies of state. Everybody was let in. This new style dumb-founded even Americans. "Not even at the beginning of the Kennedy era was everything as open as this," they said.

"Are we not a true people's party?" enthused Alfred Nau. He had to stop himself from bursting out into "On a wonderful day like today" so he contented himself by just saying it and as a sort of confirmation embraced Horst Ehmke's wife.

Young Socialists, bearded and unbearded, presented a torch-lit procession. An hour before midnight they met two men in dinner jackets who looked like two beings from another planet. State Secretaries Georg Ferdinand Duckwitz and Günther Hartkort were heading straight for the suppressed turbulence of the open house on the Venusberg after having dined with the Swedish ambassador.

The Preceptor Germania was there in the figure of Rudolf Augstein who quipped, "I don't see many CDU people here." Josefine Margarete Freisen, the 83-year-old from East Prussia was also there.

The aggressive questions of the younger generation were faced by Ministers old and new such as Helmut Schmidt, Georg Leber, Herbert Wehner, Horst Ehmke, Erhard Eppler, Carlo Schmidt, Karl Schiller and Gerhard Jahn.

Walter Scheel who intends to do everything very thoughtfully in his new office could not attend and neither could his party colleagues. At the same time there were celebrations going on with 40 old liberals of the last Bundestag in the Parliamentary Society.

Rut Brandt was almost lost in the

busle. Her charming Norwegian accent still came through when she spoke. She wants to change her house back into a castle as soon as it is no longer bustling at the seams as it was that night. She shows no inclination to live in Sep Ruf's glass architecture on the Rhine where the second Chancellor wanted to show the people what modern style was. Brandt and Scheel are agreed that the bungalow shall be used at first for guests.

While the Chancellor ate his goulash after the long day Herbert Wehner's liking for political deviation had not diminished. He had a warm word for his party's partners in government and called the FDP the pendulum party of the evening of the election. He advised the CDU to learn what a party is. He wrote in the visitors' book that Social Democrats were at times men who stood in their own way.

As task-master of the parliamentary party he wants to follow new courses and ways, but not, he added, over fields of stubble. His post is basically, or so he thinks, one very simple duty, to support the government from the floor of the Bundestag.

The changing of the guard has become for Wehner an important parliamentary event. "Every member can now see that it is he who counts — that is the irony of Chancellor Kiesinger's election slogan." Even in the hour of triumph Herbert Wehner is not going to allow himself to succumb to the temptation of leaning back and wallowing in his good fortune.

The next day some small news show the change in political scenery. Katharina Focke, the new State Secretary in the Chancellor's Office had to be accompanied past the sentries at the 'front' of Palais Schaumburg by Horst Ehmke because she had no credentials. On the notice summoning the first Federal press conference Conrad Ahlers ranks above Diehl, Walter Arendt, the new Minister of Labour, went to fetch his ministerial car

Election of the new Chancellor in Bonn  
WILLY BRANDT VERY MUCH OVERAWED BY THE CEREMONY

Nobody can measure the tension that built up in Willy Brandt in the weeks and days up to the moment when Kai-Uwe von Hassel, President of the Bundestag, announced the results of the Chancellor's election.

When he said, "251 members vote aye," the end of a long march had been reached. And what outsider can count the wear and tear on nerves?

The first reaction of the newly elected Federal Chancellor showed that even the strongest nerves can approach breaking point. The Bundestag President asked the prescribed question, "Do you accept the vote?" Before he had finished speaking Willy Brandt started to answer, "Yes, Mister President, I accept the vote."

He was in full control of his voice. The short sentence was spoken firmly and with assurance. But his haste was revealing. It was almost as if somebody or something could at this moment contest his long hoped for success. This ended the pressure felt by Willy Brandt and other politicians in spite of their conviction and certainty of victory.

The most moving moment of the Chancellor's election was when Herbert Wehner came to congratulate him. He has



Young Socialists with torches greet Willy Brandt on his election as Federal Chancellor (Photo: AP)

even though he had not yet been sworn into office. Hans Leussink, Brandt's last but not most lightweight man, drove up to the Heilmann residence in his own car. And on the threshold of Villa Hammer-schmidt Josef Ertl, the new Minister of Agriculture, reacted to his post with a prosaic, "Potatoes are dearer again."

All the Minister stood together for the first time in the gallery of Villa Hammer-schmidt. The first impression is that they are heavyweights. Hans Dietrich Genscher, Hans Leussink, Walter Arendt and Josef Ertl look as if they could cut a fine figure in the ring.

Will they work efficiently and dynamically? Walter Arendt, the miners' leader from the Ruhr and Katzer's successor in the Ministry of Labour has learnt how to set to — and not only in the metaphorical sense of the term. Walter Arendt, a man who looks more respectable than he really wants, once worked underground in the Sachsen mine at Hessen near Hamm.

Energy is written in Professor Leussink's face. He was the first man to whom Brandt turned, saying, "Thank you for your letter." There is obvious relief that this move has succeeded. Hilda Heilmann, the President's wife, went up to



seldom looked younger than he did on this day, 21 October 1969. He embraced Willy Brandt in the middle of the Bundestag in front of television cameras and the eyes of the nation. He did not try to conceal his emotion and showed at the same time that the new Federal Chancellor had not come all this way alone.

When Brandt received his notice of appointment from President Heilmann an hour later and was photographed together with the President his emotion could still be detected.

The President was as unconstrained as ever. As he has always done since taking over his office earlier on this year he joked with photographers and shook hands with the Chancellor as many times as requested. But in spite of his happy smile Willy Brandt seemed to be over-awed.

When the last photographs had been taken the Chancellor went out in the

Professor Leussink and said that she was eagerly waiting to see what the future would hold. Leussink's dry reply was, "Me too."

On the obligatory group photograph taken looking at the Rhine, Horst Ehmke stood right at the back, symbolising his lack of portfolio. It was the same at the swearing in ceremony in the Bundestag. At the start of the 10,000 metres the best tacticians are always to be seen in this position. Even the first few hours showed his ability to switch from thought into action. Horst Ehmke seemed to be everywhere.

When work began all those for whom Heilmann solicited "the blessing of our God" sat at the first session of the cabinet behind their individual nameplates. But now President Heilmann's Sekel (a German champagne) had to give way to mineral water. Helmut Schmidt who has meanwhile taken over his post on the Hardthöhe to the sound of a military tattoo was the first to open his briefcase. This was the beginning of the government's endeavour to honour the pledges made by Willy Brandt to President Heilmann that he would cause no shame to the President or the nation.

Werner Dietrich  
(DIE WELT, 23 October 1969)

sunny autumn day, with his notice of appointment in his hand, gazed at the spring in the grounds of Villa Hammer-schmidt and took a deep breath. Every body felt the man had to be alone on a day like this, even if it were only for a few seconds.

Tension had eased a long time before the Bundestag assembled that afternoon for a two minute session in which Willy Brandt swore his constitutional oath.

But the tension of the morning showed that democracy does not end with pomp and ceremony on its big days. On 21 October 1969 was a great day in Bonn and was attended by journalists from all over the world who were fitted in the press stand only with difficulty. The public gallery was also full and after the Chancellor's election the President of the Bundestag had to point out that public applause was not allowed.

But the public did find a way to celebrate Willy Brandt's election. Before he left the Bundestag a large crowd of people had assembled at the exit and warmly applauded the new Federal Chancellor.

Wolfgang Hübner  
(NEUE RUHR ZEITUNG, 22 October 1969)

## PROFILE

## Chancellor Brandt and Lübeck, the city of his birth

The fourth Federal Chancellor comes from Lübeck. This is a sober fact which cannot be openly emphasised particularly in Lübeck itself, this old Hanse city on the River Trave which remarkably has an ambiguous relationship to the greatest products of its past. First there is Thomas Mann and then Willy Brandt.

"Some fatherlands are an embarrassment," said Gustav Heinemann in his presidential address. One could say "some paternal cities are an embarrassment too." Lübeck is one of these.

If you today asked several old citizens of Lübeck, even those who were at the Johanneum with him in his school days about a boy called Herbert Ernst Karl Frahm you would very often come up against a wall of silence. Some of them can vaguely remember a shy and retiring boy from "the lowest classes" wearing the uniform of the Young Socialists who often stood alone in a corner of the school yard and was a target of attacks by boys of "good middle-class homes". But even Willy Brandt as the boy is called today confesses that childhood memories are very unclear.

## The past veiled in a thick mist

He has said: "A thick veil hangs over the years as grey as the mist in Lübeck's labour."

In his memoirs Lübeck like Oslo and Stockholm is just a stage on the "road to Berlin". He has made the astonishing statement: "It is difficult for me to believe that the boy Herbert Frahm was really me." And the great distance between his present life and his own childhood seems so insuperable that it permeates the whole style of the book.

Willy Brandt speaks of this boy not even in the third person but in the "third person". He says: "I know that he was born shortly before Christmas 1913 — on 18 December in fact — in Lübeck. His mother was still very young, a hard-working little salesgirl in a cooperative store. He never knew his father or even who that person was. And he never wanted to know. He always bore his mother's name and no one spoke of the father at home."

Even today it sometimes seems as though Willy Brandt has lost himself in the grey mists of his childhood as he chews over problems with his angular face pensively and his fingers playing with matches and paper clips.

Willy Brandt has had to live without a father and make do with this lack. Thoughts of this have ruled his whole life.

The origins of the name  
Willy Brandt

First of all there is the question of the name which other boys get from their father. His came from his mother and in later life he chose his own. Willy Brandt was a code name for the Lübeck head of the Socialist Workers' Party (SAP), a left-wing splinter group of the Social Democrats. He stuck with this name since it was a reminder of the life he had created in a time of great danger.

Willy Brandt first of all sought a father and found him in his maternal grandfather, who lived on an estate in Mecklenburg. The grandfather went to live in the

city and after the war worked as a driver for the Lübeck Drägerwerk engineering firm. He was a Social Democrat and as such had a great influence on the boy. In the starvation years of economic crisis one of the directors of Dräger offered him two loaves of bread. The hungry man said: "We want our just deserts, not handouts."

Later, at the end of the twenties, the young man who was then working on the Lübecker Volksbote found another father of his own choice, the then editor of this paper and leader of the Social Democrats in Lübeck and a senior member of the Reichstag, Julius Leber.

Willy Brandt writes: "Looking back it seems to me that in my connections with Julius Leber I was like a son to him and he a father to me." And he continues, "In my affection for Leber I found confirmation of myself. He helped me conquer self-doubts which were probably plaguing me. He was never afraid to criticise and often attacked my wild youthfulness. This he did with mild irony which was never hurtful. He treated me as his equal and he considered me a responsible person."

This affection ran deeper than their political disagreement when the young radical joined the Socialist splinter group — a manifest disapproval of any form of political compromise.

In those days the Social Democrats seemed to him to be taking a far too soft and indecisive line against the growing menace of National Socialism. In his youthful high spirits in which he sometimes let fists fly the high school boy even revolted against his spiritual father. At a mass meeting in 1931 in Trade Union House in what was then the Johannistrasse — today the Dr. Julius Leber Strasse — he went so far as to contradict Leber, the gifted orator, from the speaker's platform.

A daring young man  
opposing the leader

Karl Albrecht, who then worked on the Lübecker Volksbote and became editor of the Lübecker Freie Presse after the Second World War recalls: "We were all astonished that such a young man should be the only one who dared to oppose the party's crown prince openly."

He continued: "As far as I was concerned that was the highest form of civil courage!"

And he added: "I hardly know one man in the world who means what he says and says what he means so much as Willy Brandt."

The young politician was in fact an expatriate when Hitler seized power. The SA tormented and killed Julius Leber. Dr Fritz Solnitz, the political editor of the Lübecker Volksbote was driven through the streets with a sign around his neck.

Herbert Frahm then chose the name Willy Brandt and Norway as his new home. He was sent by the SAP as head of their bureau in Oslo. He had already got to know this wild Nordic country on a school exchange in 1927. He described Norway as the land in which the simple farming community had never lost its freedom.

A fisherman took the young Willy Brandt across the Baltic to Denmark in the morning twilight of 1 April 1933. His name is Paul Stöck and today he runs a small grocers shop in the Jahrmarktsstrasse in Travemünde. He still remembers well

the crossing which took about five hours. The sea was fairly calm and he did not notice any signs of sea-sickness in his passenger. He remembers particularly clearly the strong liquor they drank at first on board and then on parting in Rödby harbour.

"Then he said cheerio, went through the gate and was gone. Since then I have never seen him in person." In the excitement of his flight Willy Brandt never even asked the name of the Travemünde fisherman.

He first learned it 29 years later from a newspaper article and wrote to the fisherman: "Today I would like to thank you once again for the risk you ran..." The letter ended with an invitation to Berlin. But the elderly married couple were not keen to fly to Berlin and they did not want to leave their cat behind alone. And the then governing Mayor of Berlin had no time to visit Travemünde.

"The most terrible journey  
I have undertaken"

There never was a re-union and so for Willy Brandt the nocturnal flight over the Baltic remains "the most terrible journey I have ever undertaken." It was a stormy and final departure from his childhood and youth and the start of a new life of his own making in a foreign country.

He did not want to be considered an emigrant and even disliked the word. He had had to make his escape and when the National Socialists deprived him of his German citizenship he became a Norwegian in 1948 in Schleswig-Holstein he resumed citizenship of this country. He was able to make a new life amid the post-war chaos more quickly and simply than most since he had learned as a child to find his own friends and somewhere to call home. His connections with his native city were not so deeply rooted as were, for example, Heinrich Mann's.

This famous author said to Brandt in 1938 in Paris with tears in his eyes: "We will never see the seven towers again." (Lübeck is famous for seven church towers that characterise the city's skyline.) But on an earlier visit to Berlin Willy Brandt had shown his esteem for

"his Lübeck". He said: "The older I became the more I learned to understand and love its beauty..."

"Only in the first weeks of my stay abroad was it necessary to seek support. Afterwards I managed to get by with journalistic work and in the last years of the war even managed to carve out a decent life. It was fairly simple for me to find a footing in Scandinavia. In contrast to many others I was not an outsider. I had success. Many people who considered me too young then have not forgiven me for this right up to the present day."

With these words Willy Brandt defended himself in a letter to Kurt Schumacher dated 23 December 1947 against the first intrigues, slanders and suspicions which dogged his political career.

Many must consider it incomprehensible how this 19-year-old in such a short space of time mastered a foreign language, used it to earn his bread and finally became employed by the government. He was press attaché at the Norwegian military mission in Berlin and it was only in this capacity that he wore a uniform, and never went to war or carried a weapon.

After his return, aged 33, he was able to carry on the work of his spiritual father in Lübeck. His party colleagues wrote to him saying: "As Julius Leber's successor you can get off to a good start in Lübeck... You are the man for us."

"The road to Berlin" and  
all its trials

But he had already started on another route, his "road to Berlin", which was later to lead him to Bonn through trials and defeats such as no statesman has ever had to bear before. No one has ever given him anything neither in his youth nor in his mature years. He himself says that politics serves to make human life more bearable but it has often made his life intolerable.

People in this country who can make a father figure in a statesman have hesitated to recognise and accept this man. His life has become a test bed for democratic tolerance which many have not yet gone through.

Bernd Brügge

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 22 October 1969)

After a hard and difficult political career Willy Brandt has at last arrived at his goal — the Chancellorship. He is here, seen being sworn in as the fourth Chancellor of the Federal Republic.

(Photo: dpa)





## THE ARTS

## Aggression - our burden Mitscherlich maintains

On 12 October, the last day of the Frankfurt Book Fair, Alexander Mitscherlich, the psychoanalyst, writer and social psychologist, received the "Peace Prize of the Federal Republic's Book Trade" in Frankfurt's Paulskirche.

Hölderlin's words "Reconciliation is in the midst of dispute" could almost have been used as the motto. For there had been dispute about the Peace Prize of this country's book trade as last year's eruption showed.

Overdue reforms in the award of the Peace Prize were introduced as a result and the choice of Alexander Mitscherlich as the twentieth recipient since its introduction met with all round applause.

Admittedly Alexander Mitscherlich was urged by the extra-parliamentary opposition to consider whether he should accept an award of this type. And threatening, belligerent words formed a mass lobby to try and influence him.

But Mitscherlich accepted the distinction and announced in his speech at the presentation ceremony in Frankfurt's Paulskirche that he was giving the ten thousand Marks attached to the prize to Amnesty International. He justified his decision by saying, "With these small contributions we ease the life of one known man, mitigating his despair and preventing the growth of his aggression."

In his speech at the ceremony Mitscherlich stressed the significance of the Peace Prize. "It has roused attention in the world," he said, "I can well understand that. In the history of the last two or three generations there are very few credible examples where the word German has been linked with the word Peace. Our Peace Prize has been understood in connection with our attempt to divest ourselves of a trait of character that has become so dear to us, belligerency. But I wonder if this martial streak has not broken out in the dispute between the writing and the production of books and the dispute about awarding the Peace Prize. It seems to be active in both the younger and the older generation."

The actual theme of his address was the research into peace called for by President Gustav Heinemann in his speech on the thirtieth anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War.

A psychologist Mitscherlich pleaded, "Without a change in Man's psychic

composition — a new step in cultural development, a broader, strengthened consciousness — there can be little hope of a decrease in the change of there being a war. Man's composition has been disappointing up till now. How are we to force it into this new direction? Research into peace immediately becomes anthropological research, research into human motivation."

Karl Jaspers said that war began in the soul of every individual. Mitscherlich's view is similar. He says that Man must moderate hostile and destructive forms of aggression by advancing his compensatory mental powers such as compassion, understanding for the motives of other people and so on.

But indoctrinated stupidity stood in the way of this. Its function is not, to use Mitscherlich's words, "think, observe, consider," but "conform, do as everybody else does!" Then "That may urge people on to heroic deeds," Mitscherlich adds, "But it can also lead to considerable self-deception. Because of this blindness I speak of manufactured stupidity."

Stupidity can not be abolished, he says, but in its most dangerous forms enlightenment can have a liberating influence. Mitscherlich adds, "Stupidity is desired where information is evidently suppressed and development of personality prevented by inhibiting taboos. Our schools have been predominantly schools of the class system and the nation and not schools for the people even though they are called Volksschulen. But the class system and the nation wanted some facts to be known while they suppressed others."



Alexander Mitscherlich  
(Photo: Klaus Meler-Ude)

And neither can the world be rid of aggression, a basic influence of life, he says, adding, "We need the constructive sides of aggression, its sublime forms. No society can be imagined without competition, whatever its essence, and the festive climaxes that it brings."

Mitscherlich closed his speech by saying, "Anybody who does not find despair despair everywhere must be blind to the signs of the times. Will the path into the future see us eased of our burden of aggression? It all depends whether we can conquer ourselves in some way based on respect for our fellowmen. Self-conquest is not a sacrifice for the good of our soul's well-being but to understand the plurality of human forms of existence. A scepticism as to what is good for us is appropriate here. Whatever the world may look like it will remain inhabitable only so long as we do not lose sight of individual fortune and misfortune."

Eckart Klessmann  
(DIE WELT, 13 October 1969)

## Frankfurt Book Fair ends calmly despite threats

MORE VISITORS AND MORE EXHIBITORS

The Frankfurt Book Fair of 1969 is now over. Luckily the pessimists who had feared the worst after last year's uproar and this year's clash between conflicting interest groups were proved wrong.

The Book Fair, generally described as more liberal, was indeed troubled during the last few days by the extreme left exerting their rights of demonstration allowed by the Fair's directors. These infringements cannot be approved but they did keep to certain limits and the organisers of the Fair did not need to adopt countermeasures.

A small group of opponents announced that the Book Fair held no importance at all for them and they were completely indifferent as to whether the Peace Prize was awarded to Mitscherlich or Micky Mouse. But they still used the Fair as a forum to create publicity for themselves. In spite of that it was a Book Fair and not a Demonstration Fair.

Anyone who was in Frankfurt knows that apart from the few incidents the Fair was dominated by literary discussions, trade conferences and an exchange of thoughts between producers, writers and critics.

The great danger that the Book Fair might have to be terminated before the planned date — which could have resulted in the Fair being held abroad in future — did not materialise. Frankfurt, Goethe's birthplace asserted its position as the most important international venue for meetings between publishers, authors and people interested in literature.

This is shown by the organisers'

figures. The number of foreign exhibitors increased from last year's figure of 2,158 to 2,336 this autumn. With the total number of exhibitors standing at 3,207 the 1969 Book Fair was once again the biggest ever.

The area of the exhibition rose by 32,300 square feet and there were 119,485 visitors, three thousand more than in 1968. The attraction of the Frankfurt Book Fair has not faded. It is



hoped that the objective atmosphere of this year's Fair will mean a continuation of these favourable developments next year as well, especially as the organisers at their annual general meeting decided on an amnesty for the ring-leaders accused of starting last year's trouble. The increase is certainly a success for the newly introduced Fair Council which has played its part as a forum for public discussion in improving the political climate of the Fair.

Since the enlargement of the Holtzbrinck group there was understandably talk at the Fair stands of concentration in publishing. It cannot be disputed that the smaller publishers have little chance left. Of the medium sized publishing houses only those with their own printing houses or strong financial backing will be able to survive in the long run.

## Berlin's Jazz Festival

The Berlin Jazz Festival is again this year star-studded. Top-class bands and soloists from all over the world will be on the billing.

Duke Ellington, who celebrates his 70th birthday this year will be top of the bill. The Duke will be playing with his own "Big Band" that he has built up himself.

The first night will include Joe Turner, Lennie Tristano, Thelonius Monk will be on the first night's programme to pay their tribute to jazz's greatest musician. Other greats in the Jazz world who will appear at the Festival include Max Davis with his quintette, the famous big band leader Lionel Hampton and Stan Kenton. The Jazz violinist from the Beiderbecke's time, Joe Venuti, will also be there.

From Europe's jazz world there will be among others The Dave Pike Set, and Leopold von Knobelsdorff and his group.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 17 October 1969)

## Pensions for authors

The Bertelsmann publishing group of Gütersloh are introducing an old age pension scheme for authors and, from 1 January 1970, a share in the profits for all contributors.

The owner of the group, Reinhold Mohn, said in Gütersloh that he hoped the old age pension scheme introduced by his firm would provide the stimulus towards a general welfare scheme for authors as the Writers' Association has been working for.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 9 October 1969)

## THE DANCE

## Mannheim jazz ballet breaks long-run records



Unless there is some kind of delusion the glory of Federal Republic ballet consists of many single marvellous components.

Take for example Mannheim: there the National Theatre is celebrating an unusual jubilee — the hundredth evening of jazz-ballet.

Two programmes of choreography by Horst Müller to music by Wolfgang Lauth are a constant public attraction.

Other choreographers at similar theatres would be happy if their varied studio programmes were put on a dozen times. Müller's "Jazz-Ballet" is coming up to its sixtieth performance. His "Jazz-Ballet" will soon be presented for the fortieth time. This is a unique success.

For about two and a half years Müller and Lauth rested on the laurels of these successes. But the 97th evening of jazz-ballet in the National Theatre bore the stamp "premiere" and for the first time the number III.

After the unprogrammatic prelude and the Ancient Greek atmosphere of the second evening (with an "Electra" tragedy and satyr play) their ambition is now for worldwide social comment.

What the three works have in common is that their impact is not choreographic but literary.

Two works are directly dependent on literature: "Birds are singing in Concrete" attempts to re-create Albert Camus' play "The Condition of Siege". "Howling" works on a recitation of the poem of the same name by American Beat and Pop-Poet Allen Ginsberg.

And in "Five Comments on Freedom" dance and choreography have a purely illustrative character. Dance-pantomime sketches are there to underline the theory that freedom is endangered by a lack of responsibility, clarity, restraint, awareness and resistance.

In the outset a grave-digger in a truck-coat and top hat carries a tableau to the foot lights on which is written: "You will lose her, because you..." A second tableau states throughout the sketch the reason for this loss, the slogan "Clarity" is exemplified on the stage by a girl carrying a heavy wooden beam which she carries at first without much difficulty, but later finds it more difficult when she follows people's suggestions to carry the beam in a different way.

The slogan "Resistance" is shown by the group following three gymnastic demonstrations who are standing at desks wearing motor boards. Only one does not take part. He sits and reads. Nevertheless at the end he is handed a motor board which is kept from one of the other more diligent men.

The need for "Awareness" is illustrated by a scene in which five black-clad women in front of five white fences dance at length in time round five red roses in five beer bottles until a black-clad man comes on stage. Four of the women look on in obvious anguish as the man dances a pas de deux which is manifestly meant to show brutality and finally steals from her the rose together with the beer bottle. Only when the robbed woman in turn knocks one of the others to the ground and steals her rose do the other three intervene.

"Howling" begins with a jazz overture. Then a loudspeaker broadcasts thumping beats and photos are projected on a screen at the back of the stage. Between

Nasa pictures of Earth are shown pictures of a casino, a factory floor, war and a concentration camp. Then comes the first verse of Ginsberg's "Howling" recited by a speaker standing mid-stage on a mock scaffolding of wrecked cars and other waste products of our civilisation.

Following on this comes the first dance and so on. A piece of libretto is followed by a piece of music all the way through. The dancing is always to music. During the recitations the cast, the girls in mini-skirts the boys in blue jeans, stand stock still apart from two single. At about the end of about the first third there follows at a certain point in the libretto a synchronised movement of pointing at the key word "moon". About two thirds of the way through there is a general breaking up in this formation at the key phrase "broken spine".

So the ballet falls literally into two parts neither of which has anything to with the other.

There is a world of difference between the hysteria-desire-West-Coast jazz of Ginsberg with its narcotic rejection of consumer society and defecation of the "supernatural, exceptionally brilliant, intelligent goodness of the soul" and Lauth's harmless but worthy, Beat-influenced entertainment jazz in which Müller lets the cast and soloists perform movements which, 20 years after Gene Kelly's "American in Paris" only the choreographers of television shows consider "mod and jazzy".

For "Birds are Singing in Concrete" Iringard Welher with costumes by Lise-



A moment from "Birds Singing in Concrete"

(Photo: Gard Vormwald)

lotte Klein. Behind walls decorated with newspapers and removable are light-houses with all the fittings moved by men in helmets and dressed in leather. The atmosphere of the concentration camps is suggested.

The inhabitants of Camus' Spanish city are dressed in pullovers of light and dark green. The plague (danced by Wolfgang Leistner — and its assistant Helga Marder) wear black and no indication is given why the others obey them with such anxiety.

Müller takes up the most banal of Camus' basic ideas: that The Plague, in other words violence has no power over people who do not fear it and who resist it. At this stage a woman rebels through love, expressing the whole essence of this ballet. The rebuilding phases are signalled by Morse code from a loudspeaker and

The apparently senseless announcement is

für Deutschland, 9 October 1969)

## Drama festivals come up against a dead, dead end!

Boulevard theatre, giving an air of "the outsider" to the very heavy and rather lacklustre Berlin Drama Festival this autumn, did not have the success that its initiators were hoping for.

It became apparent that in Berlin the man in the street cannot be won over to a theatre of political protest, to which the American "bread and puppet theatre" has just assigned itself.

Although the actors sought their public in those places where there was great activity — in the jungle of houses in a new satellite town, in working-class quarters, and areas where the lower middle-classes live — it was mostly young children that gathered around the hand-made stages on open spaces and in backyards.

Among the spectators the only adults to be seen were not neighbours but professional actors and the press.

The people at whom the American theatre group aimed their performance were not among the following.

There is a certain amount of prejudice to be accounted for in this absenteeism. As a result of the activities of the extra-parliamentary opposition people take a sceptical attitude towards messages from the lips of young protestors who have an immediate form of expression for their nonconformism in the shape of scruffy turn-out, long hair and beards.

They were mistrusted before they had had a chance to show any of their talents and demonstrate their art form.

What actually happened on the stage? Action was mixed with agitation and the

It was presented as a didactic play, which made Schiller's bourgeois tragedy lose a lot of its poetic substance.

After the poor crop at this festival people were asking whether the drama festivals were coming up against a dead-end.

This Berlin Festival was saved largely by Barrault's example of furious "total" theatre *Rabelais* and the production of Samuel Beckett's *Krapp's Last Tape*, directed by Beckett himself.

Productions on the Berlin stage in the nineteen days of the festival did not excel the average programme of a theatre in a city, even if they were premieres and other first performances.

Several times in their eighteen year history the festival weeks have run into crises.

There was a search for new ideas and the answer seemed to have been found in a theme which binds together all forms of art.

The art of Africa, Japan and European baroque were proposed in three consecutive years as the connecting link for contributions in the different spheres.

When the resources of this idea dried up the choice of material at the festivals was left to the local musical institutions and the programme was livened up by foreign guest appearances with artists chosen by the festival officials.

But this means that the idea of the festival is gradually disappearing.

When the present festival chief Walther Schmieding says that the main aims of festival weeks are internationality, progressiveness and a demonstration of cultural activities in Berlin he is not expressing any radical new point of view.

Festivals were always keen on contributions from abroad.

Schmieding has suggested the theme of "peace" for the 1970 festival.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 13 October 1969)

1969, 10.10.1969



## OPHTHALMOLOGY

## New methods in transplanting corneas

EIGHTY PER CENT OF OPERATIONS SUCCESSFUL

A considerable proportion of eye diseases and cases of blindness can be traced back to the body's faulty immunological reactions, so-called diseases of autoaggression. This type of disease was only recognised for what it is within the last few years and is now an important part of medical research. Immunopathology has proved to be of basic importance in the transplantation of organs and tissues. It also has a considerable role in ophthalmology, especially when corneas are transplanted. Immunopathology and its role in ophthalmology was an important topic at this year's annual assembly of the country's ophthalmic association held in Heidelberg and attended by over 400 doctors and researchers.

## Kiel Nachrichten

Transplanting corneas has now become almost a matter of routine. Compared to other transplants of tissues relatively few complications appear.

In the Federal Republic almost a thousand corneal transplants are made every year in order to restore sight to those who have lost it.

About four fifths of the operations are successful. Complications appear only in about one fifth of the cases. Some of these at least are due to the body rejecting foreign protein.

Organ transplants of the last few years have shown that alien tissue is rejected by the recipient after the transplant. Professor Böke, director of the eye clinic at the University of Kiel, said that this was also true in principle of corneal transplants. But, he continued, the body's defence mechanism did not react so strongly when corneas were transplanted. The tissue then used was very small, having a diameter of only a few millimetres, and it contains no blood vessels to carry lymphocytes, the cells that form the body's main defence in the rejection of foreign protein. Because of this peculiarity a cornea was successfully transplanted as early as the end of the nineteenth century.

Professor Thiele, the Kiel colloid chemist, has developed a process to produce cell-less corneas that should offer new ways to combat the body's defence mechanism. The artificial corneas contain next to no antigens and do not therefore provoke any immune reactions.

Up till now transplants have used corneas in their original state containing all their biochemical components. They have either been taken straight from the donor or frozen and stored in a deep freeze for further use.

Professor Thiele showed that these corneas could be processed with plasmolysing agents. This leads to an expulsion of the cellular components, primarily nucleic acids which are particularly effective as antigens. All that is then left is the stroma supporting the cell. This consists of collagen, a material of biological origin, yet with a negligible body specificity which means that it has only a weak effect in releasing defence mechanisms.

The loose tissue of pure collagen is soon perused by the body lymph of the recipient and the body's own cells spread to it. It is accepted as the body's own tissue. Professor Thiele compares this process with the taking over of an empty factory. Experiments with these plasmolysed corneas have already taken place to a great extent in Bonn and Götting. Kiel University's eye clinic is just about to begin developing the process.

At the congress in Heidelberg Professor Siebeck from the University of Bonn told of his experiments in transplanting plasmolysed corneas to rabbits — the total number of operations now stands at 33. Although the cornea was rejected in a number of cases he observed that the animals accepted the foreign cornea and the body's own cells soon spread to it.

Of course the defence mechanisms of the body to corneal transplants is only part of the problem immunopathology in ophthalmology. Events increasingly show this. Many eye diseases, some of which have serious consequences, can be traced back with some degree of probability to defence mechanisms that have gone wrong. Then the patient becomes allergic to his own body protein. These are termed diseases of autoaggression.

Phenomena such as sympathetic ophthalmia can be added to this category. After one eye has been hurt or injured in some way to other, healthy eye are parts of the also affected.

It seems that inflammation of the eye's vascular membrane is even more widespread. Twenty to thirty per cent of the new cases of blindness in the Federal Republic every year can be attributed to this. Uveitis, the medical term for this disease, was one of the most important problems concerning immunopathology in an ophthalmological context discussed at the Heidelberg congress. Even today the causes of this condition are not known with certainty. However experiments to treat inflammation with drugs that kill the defence mechanisms have proved successful.

Basic research is only in its initial stages. Kiel University's eye clinic is hard at work in this field and deserves special mention. Professor Böke was able to

report on the initial progress in his subject. Together with the Children's Hospital in Hamburg he examined the blood serum of over one hundred patients suffering from eye complaints involving inflammation. In a large proportion of the samples he found substances that pointed to the body's defence mechanism reacting against its own tissue.

This discovery is but a modest first step towards understanding the causes of this dangerous eye disease. Research at Kiel will in future now limit themselves to the examination of hospital patients. They have now their own department of experimental ophthalmology, though this is at present suffering from a shortage of personnel, an inhibiting factor for the whole eye clinic.

(Kiel Nachrichten, 9 October 1969)

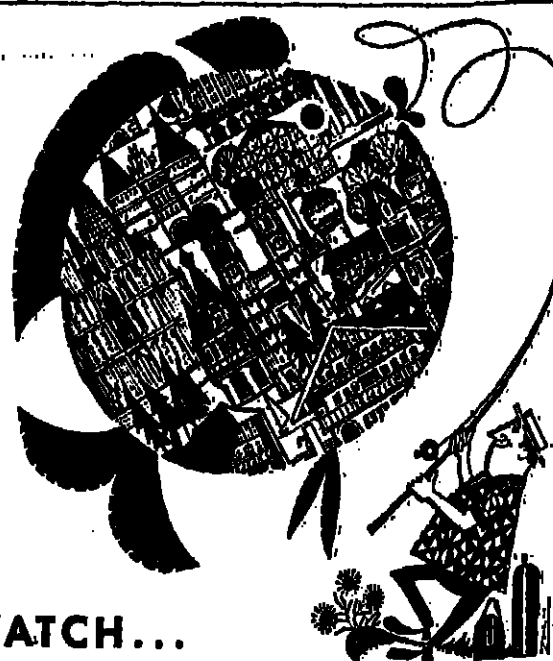
## Tuberculosis threat continues to diminish

The number of people in the Federal Republic suffering from tuberculosis dropped by 10,000 to 211,075 in 1968 according to a survey carried out by the Federal Office of Statistics. These figures are for registered TB sufferers.

Of these 63 per cent were men and 37 per cent women. In the past ten years the number of people with the disease in this country has halved.

According to a breakdown of statistics for the cause of deaths in 1968, a total of 6,299 people (three quarters of these were men) died of consumption. This figure represents the same percentage (89 per cent) of causes of deaths as in the previous year.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 13 October 1969)



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## THE ECONOMY

## Karl Schiller's run up to revaluation

LUDWIG POULLAIN FOR BUNDESBANK PRESIDENT?

Anyone who thinks that Professor Karl Schiller's victory on the revaluation question will lead to times of strict price stability is wrong.

Schiller and his brains trust of economists along with the Bundesbank are clear in their own minds that all the price rises which occur in the late phase of the boom can no longer be halted but may be gradually braked.

And as soon as the new parity of the Mark is fixed the Economic Affairs Minister will break off the measures he is taking to ensure stability and devote himself to his pet idea, "Wachstum nach Mass" (controlled growth).

Working on an expression of British economist James Meade the Professor's motto seems to be: "Growth as far as possible and price stability as far as necessary." As far as he is concerned revaluation, which among other things is to keep prices stable in this country, is not in contrast to his ideal theory. The higher the final rate of revaluation the more Schiller will be able to control middle-term economic growth and complete a programme of experiment in structural policy.

This may seem paradoxical but it is true. Karl Schiller and his advisers want to tone down the boom but not kill it. The toning down process involves revaluation. This will be followed up by a well aimed programme to prevent weaknesses in the economy such as Karl Schiller organised in the previous crisis. The stronger the toning down measures the more effective this programme will be.

One great difference between the previously companies will put their products on the home market and not concentrate half so much on ploughing their wares into the export market. This is an ambitious project bearing the stamp of theoretical brilliance but it makes many of those involved shudder slightly and say



to themselves: "What on earth is happening? First we hit the boom on the head and then spoon feed it with artificial food."

Although this method seems unusual at first sight it is not new. It is not exactly identical with Ludwig Erhard's revaluation in 1961. The example for it came — with a certain amount of success — in Great Britain although it was preceded by opposite measures. Sterling devaluation in November 1967 was an attempt by the British to cut imports and give a boost to the export trade to escape from the chronic deficit in their balance of payments.

The British know that devaluation alone would not do the trick, and had to follow it up with measures such as increased taxes and a credit squeeze. Since British traders could no longer carry out such favourable dealings on the domestic market they had to turn their attention to exports. The slogan was, "Free industrial capacity for exports."

It is this strategy with a reversed prelude that Schiller and his colleagues have in mind. The measures taken in conjunction with revaluation will depend on how great the effect of revaluation is on Federal Republic industry. There will be, perhaps, tax reliefs for the "thrifty" people in this country. For industry the question is whether these measures for the home market and not so much for exports.

The question is whether these measures on the lines of the mirror image of Britain's follow up to devaluation will be possible. Probably only if the Federal Republic ceases to subject itself to such a

strict price discipline or if all our major trade partners give up once and for all their intransigence with regard to price rises of five to eight per cent per annum.

As long as prices in this country are not rising at such a rate as in other countries nothing much will come of Schiller's request programme. Mark revaluation has got rid of the disparity in currency exchange rates. It has to a certain extent had an effect on profit margins. For the same number of bills of exchange fewer Marks can be obtained.

But if it were possible for industrialists to raise their prices with little difficulty in dollars, sterling or francs then there would remain very little of the desired effect of revaluation and of Schiller's concept of an economy "strengthened from within" except the episode of an exceptional election year.

Many exporters have already raised their prices although not necessarily to the full extent of the expected revaluation rate of about eight per cent.

Some people do not believe that the Americans, French and Dutch, despite all their efforts, will quickly find the way back to a disciplined price policy. These people must doubt whether Schiller himself can put his ideas of structural changes in the Federal Republic economy into practice after revaluation.

Industrialists sell their products in places where they can command the highest price. If the best price is available in a country suffering from inflation they export to that country without considering the consequences on the Federal Republic economy.

If Schiller should stick to his long-term concept and decide to let out the price reins a little then he will almost certainly meet with resistance from the Bundesbank which he has only been able to get on his side in recent months.

Bankers want to know whether Schil-

ler will replace Karl Blessing with a man in his confidence when the president of the Bundesbank leaves his post at the end of the year. The man in question is Ludwig Poullain, the president of the Association of Federal Republic Savings Banks.

Ludwig Poullain would almost certainly not be an aid for the minister like last year's candidate Karl Klasen. But Poullain represents economic ideas which correspond in certain details with those of Karl Schiller. And this is of great significance if it comes to an important conflict of experts.

It seems that Karl Schiller wants to create for himself room to manoeuvre so that he is not glued at every time there is a tenth of one per cent price increase.

(DIE ZEIT, 17 October 1969)

## No massive price rises, says Blessing

The new Federal government is not likely to be able to prevent further price increases as far as can be seen but an explosive increase in salaries and prices is not expected.

This was the unanimous decision of Karl Blessing, president of the Bundesbank, Ludwig Poullain, president of the Federal Republic's Savings Banks' Association, Professor Kurt Biedenkopf, rector of Bochum University and Josef Neckermann, head of a Frankfurt mail order firm in an interview and discussion programme on the second television channel in this country.

Blessing and Poullain predict that there will be a deficit in this country's budget in 1970 despite tax measures and because of sharply increasing government expenditure.

Poullain estimated that the deficit would be about 3,000 million Marks and forecasts for the 1971 budget necessary economic but obviously undesirable increased taxes.

(DIE WELT, 16 October 1969)

## Large sum donated to heart research

MAIN DEATH CAUSE IN THE WESTERN WORLD

The Volkswagen Foundation has donated 2.75 million Marks to the Rudolf Krehl Hospital in Heidelberg and its director Professor G. Schettler to build a hospital centre for research into heart attacks.

Heart diseases are today the main cause of death in civilised countries. An alarming factor is that the age of those affected is becoming increasingly younger.

According to latest statistics from the Federal Statistics Office in Wiesbaden every seventh male in the Federal Republic dies from a coronary disease, usually in the form of a heart attack. In 1967 about 75,400 people died from heart attacks, an increase of about 1,500 on the previous year. And the figure is increasing.

No single cause can be blamed for this distressing development, a whole host of factors is involved. Coordinated investi-

gations are planned to clear up this important issue.

The Scientific Council and the National Research Community have made recommendations in this field and investigations into coronary diseases will receive great emphasis at the University of Heidelberg's Faculty of Medicine.

The clinical centre for research into heart diseases planned by the Public Buildings Council will include a department for inner medicine at the Rudolf Krehl Hospital.

When the centre has been put in service the Federal Republic will be able to make an important contribution to the prevention of coronary diseases.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 15 October 1969)

## SPD economics causes no fear

Minister entered the government.

Concerted action as a "conference table of collected rationality" became a branded article of Social Democratic economic policy. For all that, concerted action is not specifically an invention of the SPD but simply the continuation of a scheme begun by the previous Economic Affairs Minister, Ludwig Erhard, but which in his day was only loosely constituted and rarely put into practice.

The institutionalisation of these talks in the form of concerted action is a further stage in the development of guidelines for economic policy and it must be stated right away that a CDU-led government would continue the system.

There are still today warning voices which say that concerted action is nothing but an economic and social council. The question is whether concerted action harms the principles of free enterprise or makes them impotent, and concerted action disputes the relationship of single economic subjects in order to arrive at definite results of marketing processes.

If the market were left to itself these results would pan out differently. This means, when viewed from a strictly theoretical aspect, that there would be an undoubted inroad into market mechanism.

isms. And to this extent concerted action does have a certain measure of identity with the so-called economic and social council.

The practical difference, however, between concerted action and an economic council can be seen in the fact that concerted action is much less an instrument of economic policy with a binding effect than an organisation dealing with social policy whose purpose is first and foremost to bring conflicts of interest to the surface so that they can be dealt with. The success of concerted action rests upon the way it makes pluralism of interests within the economy lose a lot of its aggression.

It is no coincidence that unions have remonstrated with concerted action recently. For their economic aims found the least room for manoeuvre and development within this organisation since they were non-conforming with the state of the market and not geared to the economy.

This shows that concerted action does not invalidate the rules and regulations of free enterprise but simply seeks to influence the main groups involved in economic affairs — industrialists, trade unions and officials — responsible for public spending — in order to make the marketing process run smoothly.

In the not too distant future much more attention will have to be paid to this subject. Rules for free enterprise can still be made complete by rules for concerted action.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 16 October 1969)

## Continuing large foreign investments

Once again this country's investments in other countries exceeded the amount foreign countries invested in the Federal Republic in the first half of 1969.

According to the Economic Affairs Ministry Federal Republic concerns invested 1,520 million Marks abroad in this period, whereas other nations put 1,280 million Marks into Federal Republic industries.

In the period between 1952 and mid-1969 this country's economy invested a net 15,700 million Marks abroad.

Since the beginning of 1961 when legislation was introduced affecting foreign investments 17,880 million Marks have come from abroad for investment in this country.

Of our investments abroad 11,100 million Marks went to industrial nations and 4,600 million to developing countries. On the other hand industrial nations have invested 17,580 million Marks in this country and developing countries have only put in 300 million.

American firms have supported this country's industry to the tune of 8,690 million Marks up till the middle of this year, but only 550 million Marks so far this year.

These investments in the USA have increased from 1,180 million Marks at the end of 1968 to 1,270 million in mid-1969.

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 15 October 1969)



## ■ TECHNOLOGY

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Federal Republic firms are also building atomic plants in other countries. The installations for Atucha (Argentina) and Vlissingen (Holland) were the first export orders. Others will presumably follow soon. Federal Republic industry may have an important part to play in building the first atomic power station in Rumania.

The fact that the Federal Republic has so quickly found a place on the international market is due substantially to the intensive efforts of science and industry and the consequent development of research and technology by the Federal government and state governments.

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dustries at "Nuclex '69" in Basle, an international fair for experts in atomic energy.

On the contrary, Hall III at the Swiss fair at which this country's industry is exhibiting is an international rendezvous whereas the minute stand of the American giant nuclear reactor companies got lost in the crowd.

Visitors to the fair can see here not only the 18-foot high turbine wheel of the Würgassen nuclear plant but also models of various nuclear plants in this country, reactor components; precision gauges, uranium ore, or in short everything that is needed to build a reactor.

Three years ago at Nuclex '66 discussions were still going on regarding the economic viability of atomic energy and the power station boom in America had only just begun. Meantime the industrial use of atomic energy has made great progress in the Federal Republic as well. Nowadays we virtually take it for granted that many electricity supply organisations venture to build atomic plants.

It came as no surprise when the Hamburg electricity suppliers and Nord-westdeutsche Kraftwerke immediately after Nuclex '69 announced that they were to work together on a project to build an atomic power supply station with an output of 800,000 kilowatts in Brunsbüttelkoog near Hamburg. When this is built there will be for the first time in the Federal Republic more atomic power stations than conventional ones.

As in other countries the Federal Republic industry is working so intensely on a development of up-to-date reactors including high-temperature reactors and fast breeders.

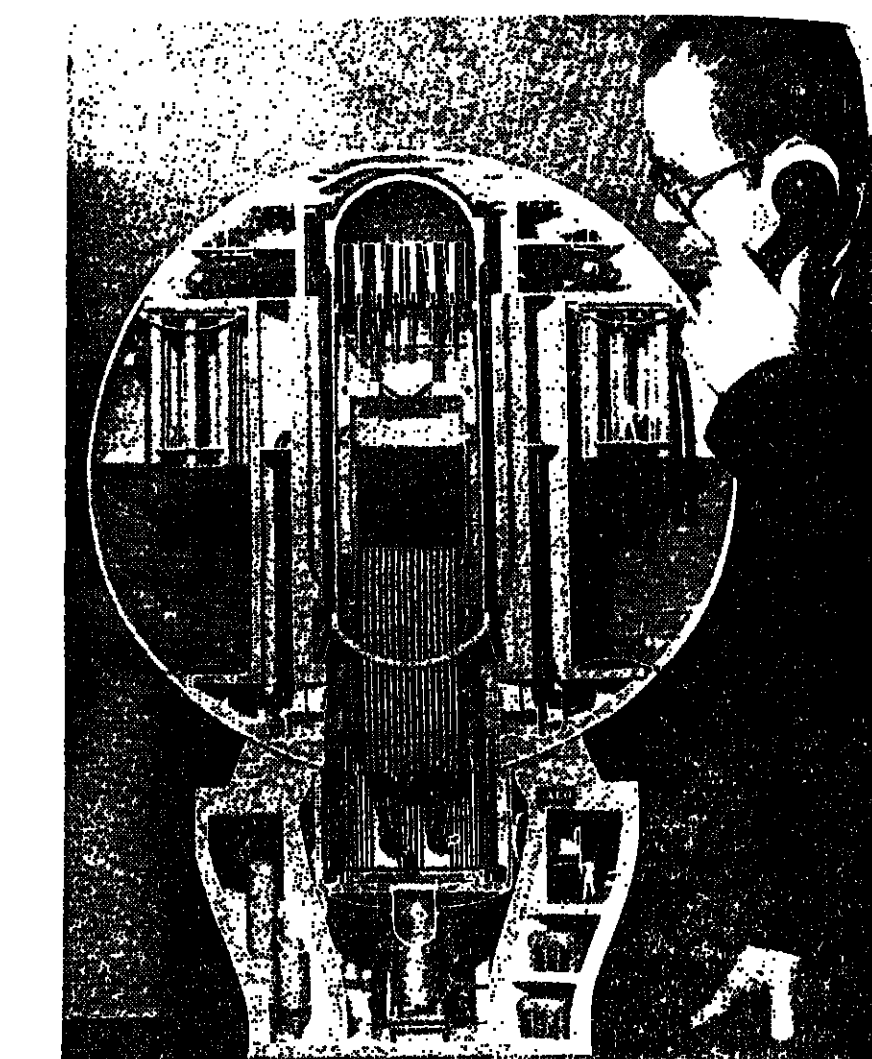
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However, when it comes to purchasing goods or paying for services a cost sheet and comparative cost accounts can give considerable aid towards making a decision. (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 15 October 1969)

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Even so, the Minister of Labour is able to report that industrial inspection authorities and industrial air polluters have made considerable progress.

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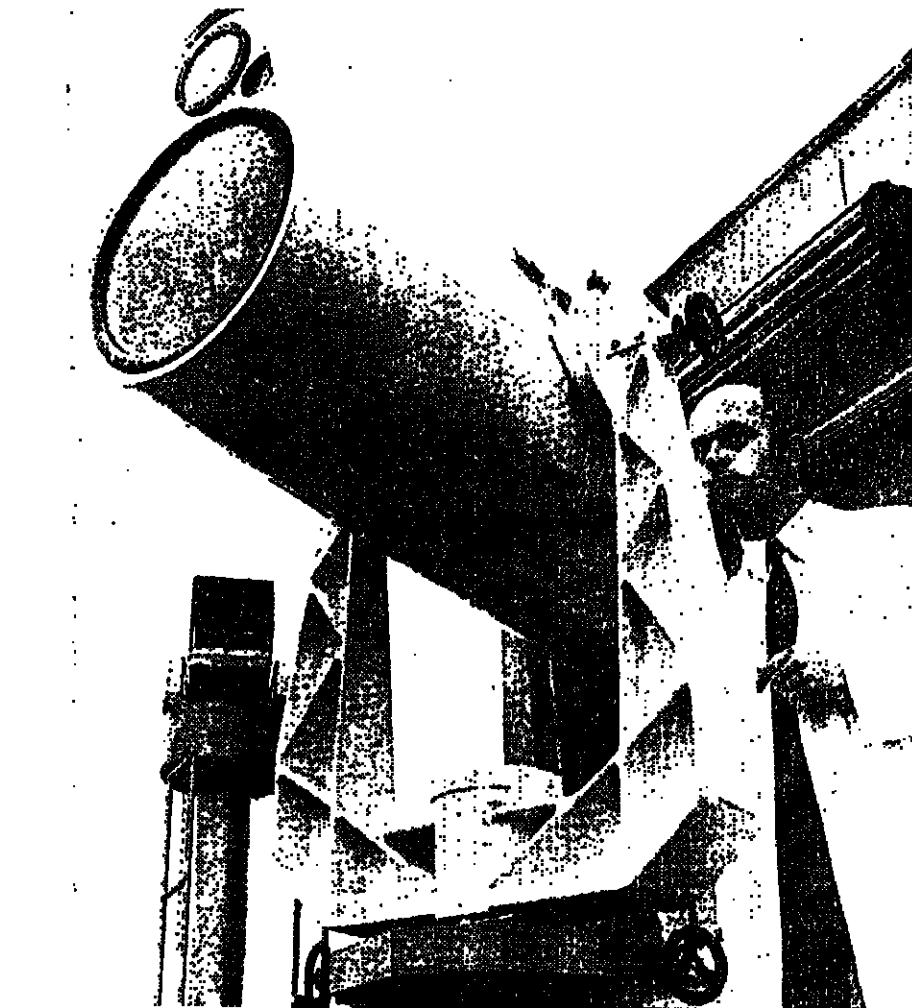
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(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 17 October 1969)

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This takes but a fraction of a second and before the passenger's body has had time to be thrown forward the gas cushion has taken up the space between him and the steering wheel.

The force with which the body then hits the cushion squeezes nitrogen out of it through a valve. Instead of being impacted on the steering wheel the driver and co-driver are gently braked in their forward thrust.

Initial trials at the Wolfsburg R & D centre have proved successful. Photos

were taken by high-speed camera (1,000 exposures a second) as the test car crashed at thirty miles an hour.

The first three exposures show the inflation of the air cushion and the forward movement of the dummy. Roughly thirty thousandths of a second after impact the air cushions are fully inflated.

The air sack and its uses are for the time being the subject of research only at Volkswagen. Before the system has been developed to the point where it can be used in practice and mass produced a number of fundamental problems must be clarified.

Where is the cushion to be housed in the vehicle. What guarantee is there that it will function? What is its life-span? These and other questions have yet to be answered. Either way, the air cushion is intended to complement rather than to replace other safety devices such as seat belts and concertina front and rear ends.

(STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG, 14 October 1969)



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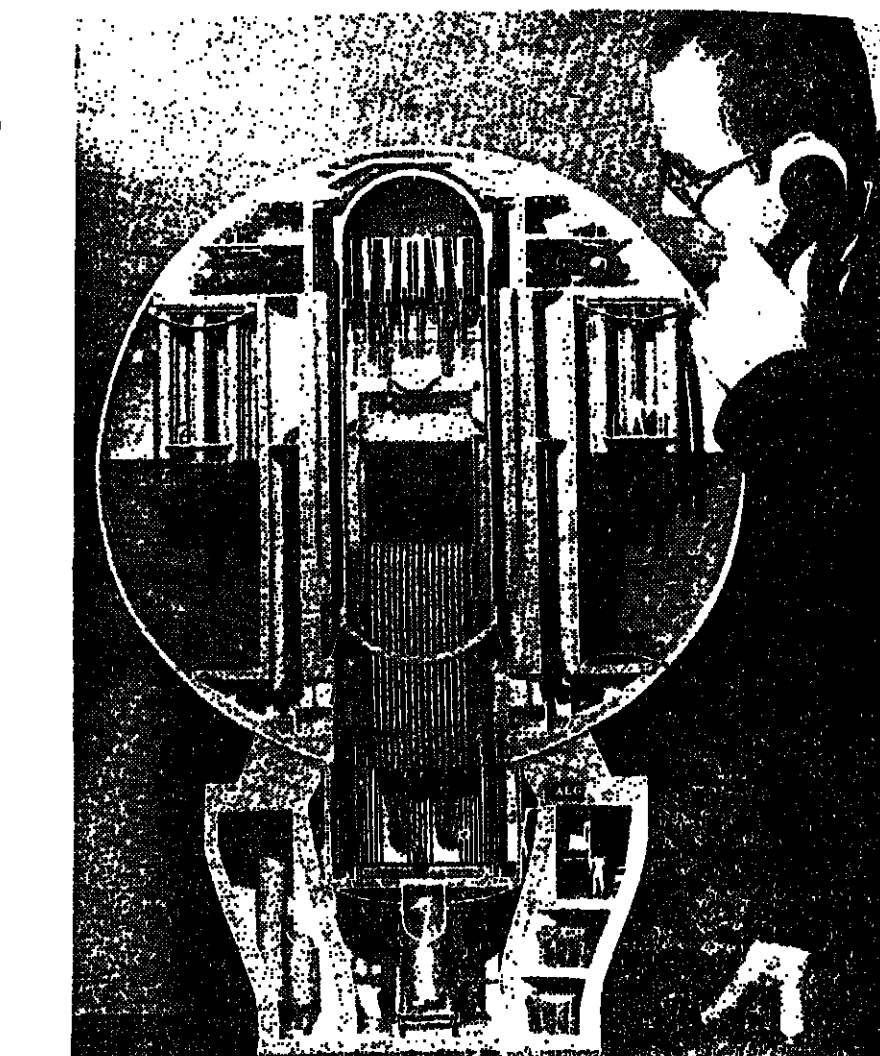
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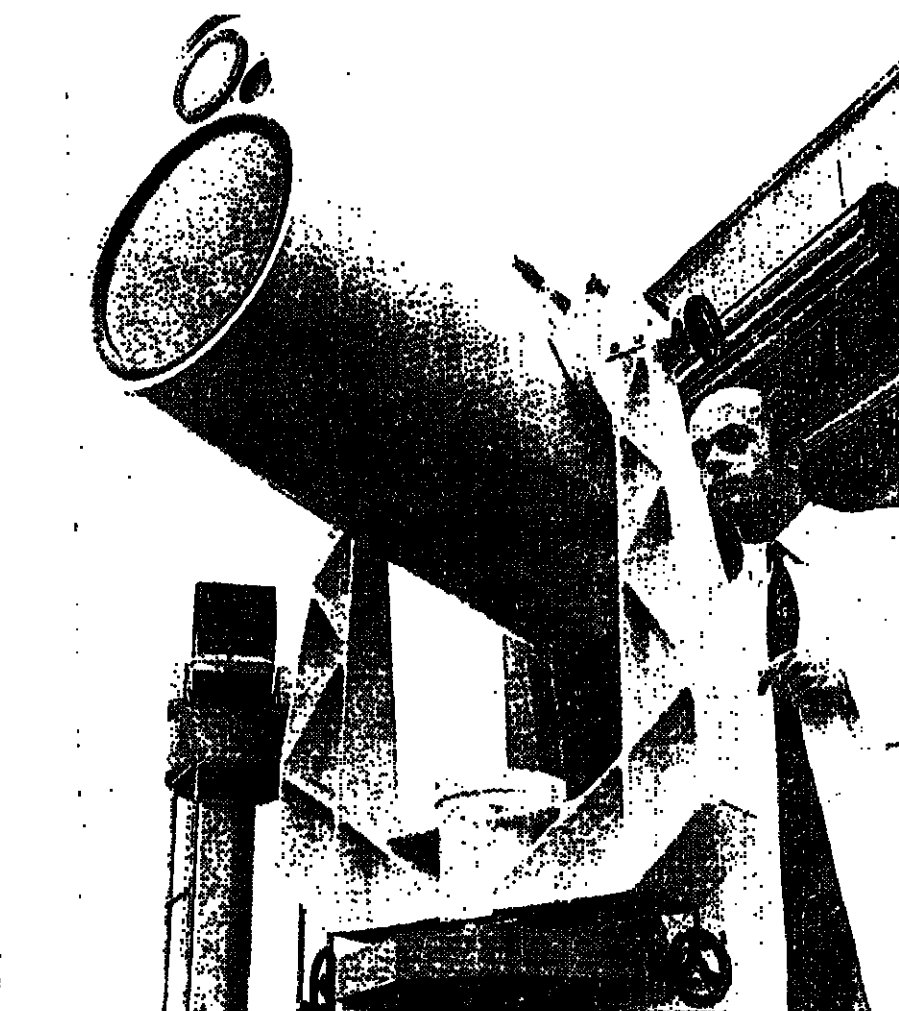
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The system, developed jointly with Eaton, Yale & Towne of the United States, functions as follows:

Gas cushions are housed in the dashboard or the steering wheel padding. On impact a switch in the front of the car triggers off the mechanism that fills the sacks with pressurised nitrogen.

This takes but a fraction of a second and before the passenger's body has had time to be thrown forward the gas cushion has taken up the space between him and the steering wheel.

The force with which the body then hits the cushion squeezes nitrogen out of it through a valve. Instead of being impacted on the steering wheel the driver and co-driver are gently braked in their forward thrust.

Initial trials at the Wolfsburg R & D centre have proved successful. Photos

were taken by high-speed camera (1,000 exposures a second) as the test car crashed at thirty miles an hour.

The first three exposures show the inflation of the air cushion and the forward movement of the dummy. Roughly thirty thousandths of a second after impact the air cushions are fully inflated.

The air sack and its uses are for the time being the subject of research only at Volkswagen. Before the system has been developed to the point where it can be used in practice and mass produced a number of fundamental problems must be clarified.

Where is the cushion to be housed in the vehicle. What guarantee is there that it will function? What is its life-span? These and other questions have yet to be answered. Either way, the air cushion is intended to complement rather than to replace other safety devices such as seat belts and concertina front and rear ends.

(STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG, 14 October 1969)



Aden	SA \$ 0.65	Colombia	col. \$ 1.--	Formosa	INT \$ 5.--	Indonesia	Rp. 35.--	Malawi	41 d	Paraguay	G. 15.--	Sudan	PT \$ 5.--
Algeria	Al 10.--	Congo (Brazzaville)	Al 10.--	France	FF 0.80	Iran	R1 10.--	Malaysia	M. \$ 0.40	Peru	S. 3.30	Syria	\$ 4 S. 50
Angola	DA 0.00	Congo (F.C.F.A.)	F.C.F.A. 30.--	Gabon	FF 1.00	Iraq	100 li.	Mali	FR 0.00	Philippines	P. 1.00	Tanzania	Ewa 0.00
Angola	Esc 1.--	Congo (Kinshasa)	Esc 1.--	Gambia	DM 1.00	Ireland	Ir 0.10	Mexico	\$ 1.50	Poland	Z1 3.50	Thailand	\$ 3.--
Argentina	\$ m 0.40			Germany	DM 1.00	Italy	0.24 0.40	Morocco	DM -- 65	Portugal	Esc 1.--	Trinidad and Tobago	
Australia	10 c.			China	0.02 0.02	Japan	100 yen	Mozambique	Bac 1.--	Rhodesia	11 d		
Austria	S 3.--	Costa Rica	C 0.85	Great Britain	£ 1.00	French Coast	F.C.F.A. 11 d	Nepal	Mohor 1.00	Rwanda	FR 3.50	Togo	FR 3.50
Bahamas	bfr 6.50	Cyprus	P 10.3	Greece	Dr 4.00	Guatemala	Q 0.15	Netherlands	Gulden 1.50	Saudi Arabia	Lea 0.50	Turkey	TL 1.25
Brazil	\$ 1.50	Czechoslovakia	Kcs 0.50	Honduras	Q 0.15	Guinea	SWL \$ 0.20	Netherlands Antilles	fl 0.10	Sweden	Kr 0.80	Taiwan	\$ 1.51
Brazil	N. Cr. \$ 0.15	Dahomey	F.C.F.A. 30.--	Guinea	FWL 30.00	Guinea	FWL 30.00	New Zealand	\$ 0.25	Switzerland	fr 0.50	Uganda	Sh 0.50
Brazil	Lea 0.85	Denmark	dkr 0.50	Guinea	FWL 30.00	Honduras	Q 0.15	Nigeria	N 0.85	Uganda	Sh 0.50	Uruguay	P 0.00
Brazil	K 0.60	Dominican Rep.	RD 0.15	Honduras	Q 0.15	Honduras	Q 0.15	Poland	Z1 3.50	Uganda	Sh 0.50	USA	\$ 0.50
Brazil	F. Bu. 10.--	Ecuador	S 2.30	Honduras	Q 0.15	Hong Kong	HK \$ 0.50	Romania	Leu 1.00	Uganda	Sh 0.50	USSR	Rbl. 0.10
Brazil	F.C.F.A. 30.--	El Salvador	C 0.50	Hong Kong	HK \$ 0.50	Hong Kong	HK \$ 0.50	Romania	Leu 1.00	Uganda	Sh 0.50	Venezuela	Bol. 0.10
Brazil	Can. \$ 20	Ethiopia	EtB 0.50	Iceland	kr 5.--	Iceland	kr 5.--	Romania	Leu 1.00	Uganda	Sh 0.50	Venezuela	Bol. 0.10
Brazil								Romania	Leu 1.00	Uganda	Sh 0.50	Venezuela	Bol. 0.10